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STUDIES IN BHĀSA

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ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA

Introduction

NO METHODICAL STUDY¹ has yet been made of the thirteen anonymous dramas issued as Nos. XV-XVII, XX-XXII, XXVI, XXXIX, and XLII of the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series and ascribed by their editor, Pandit T. Gaṇapati Sāstrī, to the celebrated playwright Bhāsa. The first attempt at a comprehensive review of the plays—and the only one that has contributed substantially to our knowledge of them—is found in the editor's own introductions to the *editio princeps* of the Svapnavāsavadattā and that of the Pratimānāṭaka respectively. Opinion may be divided as to whether the learned editor has fully vindicated his claims regarding the age of the dramas or the authorship of Bhāsa, but it seems unquestionable that the arguments brought forward by him in support of his case deserve serious consideration. Another approach to a study of these dramas is found in the introduction to a subsequent edition² of the Svapnavāsavadattā by Prof. H. B. Bhide. This author replies to the arguments of a scholar who had in the meanwhile published an article in a vernacular journal calling into question the conclusion of Gaṇapati Sāstrī regarding the authorship of Bhāsa, and attempts to re-establish it by adducing fresh proofs in support of it. Mr. Bhide then turns his attention to the question of Bhāsa's age, which he endeavors to fix by what may be termed a process of successive elimination. Incidentally it may be remarked that his arguments lead him to assign the dramas to an epoch even earlier than that claimed for them by Gaṇapati Sāstrī.³ While it would be invid-

¹ A complete bibliography of the literature, Indian (including the works in vernaculars, of which there is a considerable number already) and European, bearing on the subject, will be the theme of a separate article.

² The Svapna Vasavadatta of Bhasa edited with Introduction, Notes etc. etc. by H. B. Bhide, . . . with Sanskrit Commentary (Bhavnagar, 1916).

³ According to Gaṇapati Sāstrī the author of these dramas, Bhāsa, 'must necessarily be placed not later than the third or second century B. C.'; according to Mr. Bhide, 475 B. C. to 417 B. C. would be the period of Bhāsa.

ious to belittle the work of these pioneers in the field and deny them their meed of praise, it must nevertheless be confessed that their investigations are characterised by a narrowness of scope and a certain perfunctoriness of treatment which unfortunately deprive them of all claims to finality. Vast fields of enquiry have been left practically untouched; and, it need not be pointed out, a study of these neglected questions might seriously modify the views on the plays and the playwright based on the facts now available.

Nor have the critics⁴ of Gaṇapati Sāstrī, who challenge his ascription of the plays to Bhāsa, attempted—perhaps they have not deemed it worth their while to attempt—to get below the surface; their investigations confine themselves to a very restricted field, upon the results of which their conclusions are based. Corresponding to the different isolated features of these plays selected by them for emphasis, different values are obtained by them for the epoch of these dramas; and having shown that these dates are incompatible with the probable age of Bhāsa, these writers have considered their responsibility ended.

Now whatever opinion may be held regarding the age of these plays it seems undeniable that they are worthy of very close study. Their discovery has given rise to some complicated literary problems, which demand elucidation. Their Prakrit, which contains some noteworthy peculiarities, requires analysis; their technique, which differs in a marked manner from that of hitherto known dramas, requires careful study; their metre, with its preponderance of the śloka, and their Alaṃkāra of restricted scope, both call for minute investigation. The fragment⁵ Cāru-datta alone, of which the Mṛcchakaṭikā looks almost like an enlarged version, suggests a whole host of problems. Some verses (or parts of verses) from these dramas are met with again in different literary works; we find others referred to in critical works of different epochs: have they been borrowed or quoted (as the case may be) from *our* dramas? If so, what chronologi-

⁴ Prof. Pandeya in the vernacular periodical *Sārādā* (Vol. 1, No. 1), who assigns the plays to the 10th century A. D.; and Dr. L. D. Barnett in *JEAS*, 1919, pp. 233f., who ascribes them to an anonymous poet of about the 7th century A. D.

⁵ Thereon see my article “‘Charudatta’—A Fragment’ in the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society* (Bangalore), 1919.

cal conclusions follow from these references? Some of these questions have never been dealt with at all before; there are others whose treatment by previous writers must be called superficial and unsatisfactory; but all of them merit exhaustive investigation. In these Studies I shall try to discuss various problems connected with these plays with all the breadth of treatment they require. I hope that they will in some measure answer the demand.

At first I shall devote myself to collation of material; subsequently, when I have a sufficient number of facts at my disposal, duly tabulated and indexed, I shall turn my attention to the question of the age and the authorship of these dramas, and consider whether, from the material available, it is possible to deduce any definite conclusions regarding these topics. From the nature of the case it may not be possible to find for the question of the authorship an answer free from all elements of uncertainty; but it is hoped that the cumulative evidence of facts gleaned from a review of the plays from widely different angles will yield some positive result at least regarding their age.

In conclusion it should be made clear that nothing is taken for granted regarding the author or the age of these plays. It follows, therefore, that the choice of the title 'Studies in Bhāsa,' or the expression 'dramas of Bhāsa' if used in the sequel with reference to them, does not necessarily imply the acceptance of the authorship of Bhāsa; the use of Bhāsa's name should be regarded merely as a matter of convenience, unless the evidence adduced be subsequently found to justify or necessitate the assumption involved.

I. *On certain archaisms in the Prakrit of these dramas.*

The scope of this article, the first of the series, is restricted to a consideration of certain selected words and grammatical forms, occurring in the Prakrit of the dramas before us, which arrest our attention by their archaic character. There are many other questions relative to the Prakrit of these plays which await investigation, such as, for example, its general sound-system, its varieties, its distribution, etc.: they will be dealt with in subsequent articles. 'Archaic' and 'modern' are of course relative terms. The words noticed below are called 'archaic' in reference to what may be said to be the standard dialect-stage of the Prakrit of the

dramas of the classical period, such as those of Kālidāsa. No comparative study has yet been made of the Prakrit of Kālidāsa and his successors with a view to ascertaining the developmental differences (if any) obtaining between them; marked differences there are none; and we are constrained, in the absence of detailed study, to regard the Prakrits of the post-Kālidāsa dramas as static dialect-varieties showing only minute differences of vocabulary and style.

Methodologically the question whether all these thirteen anonymous plays are the works of one and the same author should have been taken up first for investigation. But even a cursory examination of these plays is enough to set at rest all doubts regarding the common authorship; moreover the point has already been dealt with in a fairly satisfactory manner by the editor of the plays, whose conclusions have not hitherto evoked adverse comment. The question will, however, in due course receive all the attention and scrutiny necessary.

Meanwhile we will turn to the discussion of what I regard as archaisms in the Prakrit of these plays.

AN ALPHABETICAL LIST OF SELECTED ARCHAISMS.

1. *amhāam* (= Skt. *asmākam*).

Svapna. 27 (twice; Ceṭī), 28 (Ceṭī); Pañca. 21 (Vṛddhagopālaka); Avi. 25 (Dhātrī), 29 (Vidūṣaka).

amhāam is used in the passages just quoted; but in other places the very same characters use the later form *amhāṇam*, which is formed on the analogy of the thematic nominal bases: cf. Ceṭī in Svapna. 24, 32; Vṛddhagopālaka in Pañca. 20, 21; and Dhātrī in Avi. 23. The latter form occurs, moreover, in Cāru. 1 (Sūtradhāra), 34 (Ceṭī). The form *amhā(k)am*, it may be remarked, is neither mentioned by grammarians^a nor found in the dramas hitherto known. But Pāli, it will be recalled, has still *amhākam*, and Aśvaghoṣa's dramas (Lüders^a 58) have preserved the corresponding *tum(h)āk(am)*. Owing to the simul-

^a Thus, for instance, Mārkaṇḍeya in his *Prākṛtasarvasva* (ed. Grantha-pradarsani, Vizagapatam, 1912), IX. 95, lays down specifically that the gen. plu. of the 1st pers. pron. in Śaurasenī is *amham* or *amhāṇam*.

^a Here and in similar references 'Lüders' stands for Lüders, *Bruchstücke Buddhistischer Dramen* (Kleinere Sanskrit-Texte, Heft I), Berlin 1911.

taneous occurrence in our dramas of both the forms in the speech of one and the same character, we are not in a position to decide at this stage whether the *amhāam* of our manuscripts is a genuinely archaic use of the word or whether there is a contamination here with the Skt. *asmākam*. It may again be that the promiscuous use of the doublets points to a period of transition.

2. Root *arh-*.

Svapna. 7 (Tāpasī); Abhi. 5 (Tārā).

Twice the root appears in Prakrit passages in these dramas with unassimilated conjunct: once as a nominal base *arhā* (Svapna. 7) and again as a verbum finitum *arhadi*⁷ (Abhi. 5). In the latter case the editor conjecturally emends the reading of the manuscripts to *arihadi*. *A priori* the conjunct *rh* seems hardly admissible in a Prakrit dialect;⁸ and one is tempted to follow the editor of the dramas in regarding it as a mistake of the scribe. In the Śaurasenī of later dramas an epenthetic *i* divides the conjunct: *arih-* (Pischel 140). Of this form we have two instances in our dramas: *arihadi* in Pratimā. 6 (Avadātikā) and *aṇarihāni* in Abhi. 15 (Sītā). In another place, however, the word appears with an epenthetic *u*⁹: Abhi. 60 (Sītā) we have *aṇaruhāni* (instead of *aṇarihāni*) in a passage which is otherwise identical with Abhi. 15 quoted above. Thus, an emendation would have seemed inevitable in the two isolated instances containing the conjunct, had not the Turfan manuscripts of Aśva-ghoṣa's dramas, with which our manuscripts will be shown to have a number of points in common, testified to the correctness of the reading, by furnishing a probable instance of the identical orthographic peculiarity. In a passage from a speech placed in the mouth either of the Courtesan or the Vidūṣaka (and therefore Śaurasenī) occurs a word that is read by Prof. Lüders as *arhessi* (Lüders 49). Unfortunately the portion of the palm-leaf which contains the conjunct *rh* is chipped, and the reading, therefore,

⁷ The actual reading of the text is *a(rhaṛiṛiḥa)di*, meaning apparently that the MS. reading is *arhadi* and that the editor would emend to *arihadi*.

⁸ See Pischel, *Grammatik d. Prakrit-Sprachen* (abbreviated in the sequel as 'Pischel'), § 332.

⁹ Pischel (§ 140) remarks that the Devanāgarī and South-Indian recensions of Śakuntalā and Mālavikā, and the Priyadarśikā, have *aruhadi* in Śaurasenī; according to him it is an incorrect use.

cannot claim for itself absolute certainty. However that may be, Prof. Lüders appears to have in his own mind no doubt regarding the correctness of the reading adopted by him. Should this restoration be correct, we should have a precedent for our seemingly improbable reading. It is not easy to explain satisfactorily the origin of this anomaly. We can only conjecture, as Prof. Lüders does, that the conjunct *rh* was still pronounced without the *svarabhakti*, or was at any rate written¹⁰ in that manner. Assuming that our reading of the word *arh-* in both sets of manuscripts is correct, this coincidence, which is a proof as positive as it is fortuitous of the affinity between our dramas and those of Aśvaghōṣa, has an importance which cannot be overrated.

3. *ahake* (= Skt. *aham*).

Cāru. 23 (Śakāra).

Occurs in these dramas only once in the (Māgadhī) passage just quoted. Śakāra uses only in two other places the nominative case of the pronoun of the first person, namely Cāru. 12 (which is a verse), and 15; in both these instances, however, as elsewhere in our dramas, occurs the ordinary Tatsama *aham*. The derivation of *ahake* is sufficiently clear; and since in Śaurasenī and Māgadhī the *svārthe*-suffix *-ka* may be retained unaltered (Pischel 598), the form is theoretically, at any rate, perfectly regular. It has moreover the sanction of the grammarians, being specifically noticed in a Prakrit grammar, namely the Prākṛta-prakāśa (11. 9) of Vararuci, which is the oldest Prakrit grammar preserved (Pischel 32). In his paradigm of the 1st pers. pron. Pischel encloses this form in square brackets, indicating therewith that there are no instances of its use in the available manuscripts. Probably this view represents the actual state of things in Pischel's time. It would be wrong on that account to regard its occurrence here as a pedantic use of a speculative form which is nothing more than a grammarian's abstraction. For we now have in Aśvaghōṣa's dramas an authentic instance of the use of a still older form, *ahakam*, in the 'dramatic' Māgadhī of the Duṣṭa

¹⁰ It would be worth while examining the Prakrit inscriptions to ascertain whether they contain any instances of this usage, and if so to determine its epochal and topographical limits.

(Bösewicht); Lüders 36. The *ahake* of these dramas and of Vararuci stands midway and supplies the necessary connecting link between the *ahakaṃ* of Āśvaghoṣa and the *hake*, *hag(g)e* of later grammarians and dramatists. The legitimacy and archaism of *ahake* may, therefore, be regarded as sufficiently established. Incidentally the correspondence with Vararuci is worthy of note. —The occasion for the use, in this instance, of the stronger form *ahake*,¹¹ instead of the usual *aham*, appears to be that the context requires an emphasis to be laid on the subject of the sentence: *ahake dāva vañcide* . . . ‘Even I¹¹ have been duped . . .’ —The later forms *hake*, *ha(g)ge* occur neither in the preserved fragments of Āśvaghoṣa’s dramas nor in our dramas, a fact which is worthy of remark.

4. *āma*.

Svapna. 45 (Vidūṣaka), 80 (Padmāvati), etc.; Cāru. 4 (Naṭi), 20 (Śakāra); etc. etc.

An affirmative particle occurring very frequently in these dramas and used in all dialects alike. This word, which is met with also in the modern Dravidian dialects, where it has precisely the same sense, seems to have dropped out of the later Prakrit. It need not on that account be set down as a late Dravidianism introduced into the manuscripts of our dramas by South Indian scribes, for its authenticity is sufficiently established by its occurrence in Pāli on the one hand and in the Turfan manuscripts of Āśvaghoṣa’s dramas on the other (Lüders 46).

5. *karia* (= Skt. *kṛtvā*).

Svapna. 52 (Vidūṣaka), 63 (Vāsavadattā), 70 (Pratihārī); Pratijñā. 10, 11, and 15 (Hamsaka), 41, 45, and 50 (Vidūṣaka); etc. etc.

The regular Śaurasenī form is *kaḍua* (Pischel 581, 590). But Hemacandra (4. 272) allows also *karia*. While this rule of the grammarian is confirmed by the *sporadic* occurrence of *kari(y)a* in manuscripts, it is interesting to remark that it is met with also in a Śaurasenī passage in Āśvaghoṣa’s dramas (Lüders 46).

¹¹ [Editorial note.—The suffix *ka* cannot, in my opinion, have this meaning. Here it is very likely pitying (‘‘poor unlucky I’’); or it may be *svārthe*.—F. E.]

According to Pischel (*KB* 8. 140, quoted by Lüders in *Bruchstücke Buddhistischer Dramen*, p. 48, footnote 3) the use of *karia* is confined exclusively to the Nāgarī and South Indian recensions of Śakuntalā and Mālavikā. But its occurrence in the Turfan manuscripts of Āśvaghoṣa's dramas shows that it is a genuinely archaic form and not a vagary of South Indian or Nāgarī manuscripts.—*kadua* does not occur in our dramas, nor in the preserved fragments of Āśvaghoṣa's dramas. Incidentally we may note that our plays also furnish instances of the use of the parallel form *gacchia* (Skt. *gatvā*) of which the regular (later) Śaurasenī form is *gadua*; see Cāru. 1, etc. etc.

6. *kissa*, *kiśśa* (= Skt. *kasya*).

Avi. 16 (Vidūṣaka), 20 (Nalinikā), 71 and 73 (Vidūṣaka); Pratimā. 6 (Sītā); Cāru. 24 (Śakāra).

The dialects are Śaurasenī (*kissa*) and Māgadhī (*kiśśa*). Formally these words represent the genitive singular of the interrogative pronoun, but here as elsewhere they are used exclusively in the sense of the ablative *kasmāt*—‘why?’, ‘wherefore?’. Neither of these words—in this stage of phonetic development—occurs in the Prakrit of the grammarians and other dramatists (with but one exception), which have *kīsa* (*kīśa*) instead (Pischel 428). *kissa* occurs frequently in Pāli, *kiśśa* is used by the Duṣṭa (‘Bösewicht’) in Āśvaghoṣa's dramas (Lüders 36); in both these instances the words have precisely the same sense as here. Like *ahake* (above no. 3), *kissa* (*kiśśa*) corresponds exactly to the theoretical predecessors of forms in use in the Prakrit of later dramas. *kīsa* occurs once in these plays also: Svapna. 29 (Ceṭī).

Unless a period of transition be assumed, *kissa* would appear to be the right form to use here. For, *kīsa* may represent the spurious correction of a learned transcriber; but were *kīsa* (*kīśa*) the original reading in all these places, it would be difficult to explain the deliberate substitution of an archaic *kissa* (*kiśśa*) in its place. In other words I assume the principle of progressive correction, that is the tendency of successive generations of scribes to modernize the Prakrit of older works so as to bring it in line with the development of the Prakrit of their own times. Unless, therefore, as already remarked, it is assumed that the simultaneous use of the two forms be regarded as indicating a period of transition, *kissa* (*kiśśa*) would appear to be the form proper to the dialect

of our dramas. In passing it may be pointed out that *kissa* (*kiśśa*) cannot be arrived at by the Prakritization of any Sanskrit form; therefore a question of contamination does not rise in this case.

7. *khu* (= Skt. *khalu*).

Svapna. 5 (Vāsavadattā), 7 (Tāpasī), 11 (Padmāvatī), 13 (Ceṭī), etc. etc.

Written almost throughout without the doubling of the initial. Now the rule deduced from an observation of the usage of manuscripts appears to be that after short vowels and after *e* and *o* (which then are shortened under those circumstances), we should have *kkhu*; after long vowels, however, *khu* (Pischel 94). This rule applies to Śaurasenī and Māgadhi alike. But in the manuscripts of Aśvaghōṣa's dramas the initial is never doubled; and in our text of the present plays there are only two instances of the doubling, both of which are spurious and due to mistakes of copyists. We will turn our attention to these first. They are:— (1) Abhi. 23 (Sītā): *aho aaruṇā-kkhu issarā*,¹² and (2) Pratimā. 22 (Sītā): *ṇaṃ saha-dhamma-ārīṇī-kkhu ahaṃ*. It is quite evident that the doubling in these instances, which takes place after the long finals *ā* and *ī*, is contrary to every rule, and is nothing more than a mistake of some transcriber. It may therefore be assumed that at the stage in which the dialects of our dramas find themselves the doubling of the initial in *khu* had not yet taken effect. We notice here, however, the first step taken to its treatment as an enclitic. In the dramas of Aśvaghōṣa *khu* remains unaltered throughout with undoubled initial;¹³ but in our dramas we find frequently *hu* substituted for it in the combinations *ṇa + khu* and *kim ṇu + khu*: Svapna. 23 (Vāsavadattā), 58 (Vidūṣaka), 63 (Vāsavadattā), etc.; Pratijñā. 9 (Hamsaka); Pañca. 20 (Vṛddhagopālaka); Avi. 79 (Nalinikā), 82 (Kuraṅgī), 92 (Nalinikā); etc. etc. Sporadically *khu* is retained unaltered even in these combinations.¹⁴

¹² But note Svapna. 27 (Vāsavadattā): *aho akarūṇā khu issarā*. Of course the retention of the intervocalic *k* is unjustifiable.

¹³ Prof. Lüders does cite °*t.kkhu* in Aśvaghōṣa's dramas; but, as he himself points out, it is far from certain that we have the particle *khu* before us (Lüders 51, footnote 3).

¹⁴ For instance, *kim ṇu khu*, Svapna. 63 (Vāsavadattā).

8. *tava* (= Skt. *tava*).

Svapna. 17 (Tāpasī), 40 (Padmāvatī), 78 (Dhātrī); Pratimā. 8 (Avadātikā); etc. etc.

This is the usual form of the word in our plays in all dialects alike; in addition, of course, the old enclitic *te* (*de*) is also in use. The Śaurasenī of Aśvaghoṣa's dramas furnishes also an example of its use in the Prakrit of dramas (Lüders 46), and it is common enough in Pāli. On the other hand the later forms *tu(m)ha*, and *tujjha* are unknown alike to the Prakrit of Aśvaghoṣa and these plays. According to Prakrit grammarians and the usage of the manuscripts of later dramas *tu(m)ha* (and not *tava*) is proper to Śaurasenī;¹⁵ evidently this represents the state of things at a later epoch. The use of *tava* seems later to be restricted to Māgadhī, Ardhamāgadhī, and Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī (Pischel 421).

9. *tuvaṃ* (= Skt. *tvaṃ*).

Svapna. 37 (Padmāvatī), 38 (Vāsavadattā), 53 (Padminikā), 54 (Padminikā), 55 (Padminikā); Pratijñā. 40 (Vidūṣaka), 42 (Vidūṣaka); Avi. 73 (Vidūṣaka), 77 (Vidūṣaka), 79 (Kuraṅgī); Ūru. 104 (Durjaya); Cāru. 2 (Naṭī); etc. etc.

This form, in which the assimilation has not yet taken effect, disappeared from the Prakrit of later dramas, which substitute *tumaṃ* in its place. But it is mentioned by Prakrit grammarians (Pischel 420), and it is the regular form of the nominative case of the 2nd pers. pron. in Pāli and inscriptional Prakrit. It was, moreover, in use still in Aśvaghoṣa's time (Lüders 46), which is significant from our viewpoint. The later form *tumaṃ* occurs sporadically in our dramas also: Svapna. 78 (Dhātrī); Pratijñā. 58 (Bhaṭa and Gātrasevaka), 62 (Bhaṭa); Avi. 29 (Vidūṣaka), 92 (Vasumitrā). In respect to the references from the Pratijñā. (58, 62) it should be remarked that the manuscripts upon which our text is based are just at this place defective, and full of mistakes; consequently the readings adopted in the text cannot by any means be looked upon as certain.—Twice *tuvaṃ* is used in the *accusative*¹⁶ case: Ūru. 105 (Durjaya), Cāru. 71 (Ganikā).

¹⁵ See Pischel 421 for a discussion of the merits and use of the different Prakrit equivalents of Skt. *tava*.

¹⁶ In the paradigm of the pronoun of the 2nd pers. Pischel gives the form *tuvaṃ* for the nom. and acc. sing., but he encloses it in square brackets.

But the usual form of the accusative case in our plays, as in later Prakrit, is *tumam*: e. g. Svapna. 27 and 32 (Ceṭi).

10. *dissa-*, *diśsa-* (= Skt. *drśya-*).

Svapna. 70 (Pratihārī); Avi. 22 (Nalinikā), 70 (Vidūṣaka); Pratijñā. 58 (Bhaṭa); Bāla. 50 (Vṛddhagopālaka); Madhyama. 4 (Brāhmaṇī); Ūru. 101 (Gāndhārī); Abhi. 54 (Sītā); Cāru. 16 (Śakāra); Pratimā. 5 (Sītā); etc.

In the above instances we have the root-form *dissa-*. On the other hand, in a number of other places the later form *dīsa-*, with the simplification of the conjunct, has been used. The relation *dissa-*: *dīsa-* is the same as that of *kissa*: *kīsa* discussed in paragraph 6. According to Pischel *dissa-* occurs in the Ardhmā-gadhī of the Jaina canon, but *not* in the dramas, which substitute *dīsa-* instead (Pischel 541). This later form *dīsa-* is met with in our dramas only in : Avi. 28 (Vidūṣaka), 91 (Vasumitrā); Pratijñā. 54 (Vidūṣaka); Cāru. 16 (Śakāra). It is worth noting that in one instance (Cāru. 16) the two forms occur on the same page and are placed in the mouth of the same character (Śakāra). The remarks made in paragraph 6 on the relation of the forms *kissa*: *kīsa* are also applicable here. It is interesting to note that the passive base *dissa-* is in use not only in Pāli, but also in Aśvaghōṣa's dramas (Lüders 58).

11. *vaam* (= Skt. *vayam*).

Svapna. 31 (Vidūṣaka); Avi. 93 (Vasumitrā); Cāru. 49 (Vidūṣaka).

In Svapna. (p. 31) the word is spelt *vayam*; but in conformity with the orthography of the manuscripts of our dramas, which omit the intervocalic *y*, the reading *vaam* should be adopted also in this instance. The form proper to Śaurasenī, to which dialect all the above passages belong, is *amhe* (Pischel 419). But it is interesting to note that Vararuci (12. 25) and Mārkaṇḍeya 70, according to Pischel 419, permit the use of *va(y)am* in Śaurasenī. And again in the dramas of Aśvaghōṣa we do actually meet with an instance of the use of *vayam* in a dialect which is probably Śaurasenī (Lüders 58). The form *amhe* does not occur in the preserved fragments of Aśvaghōṣa's dramas. And in our plays it occurs, as far as my observation goes, only three times: twice, curiously enough, in the sense of (the nomi-

native case of) the dual *āvām* (Abhi. 48; Pratimā. 58), and once in the *accusative*¹⁷ case (Pratimā. 35). *va(y)aṃ* may therefore be regarded as a form peculiar and proper to the older Prakrits,

SUMMARY

Above have been set forth a number of peculiarities of vocabulary and grammar in which the Prakrit of our dramas differs from that of the dramas of Kālidāsa and other classical playwrights. Every one of these peculiarities is shared by the Prakrit of Aśvaghōṣa's dramas. In some instances the archaic and the more modern form are used side by side in our dramas: e. g. *amhāṃ* and *amhāṇaṃ*; *tuvaṃ* and *tumaṃ*; *kissa* and *kīsa*; *dissa-* and *dīsa-*; *arh-*, *arih-* and *aruh-*. But in other instances the archaic forms are used to the exclusion of the later forms: e. g. *ahake* (later *hage*), *va(y)aṃ* (later *amhe*, Nom. Plu.), *tava* (later *tumha*), *karia* (later *kadua*), and *āma* (obsolete). The absence of doubling of the initial of the particle *khu* after *ē* and *ō* may be taken to indicate an epoch when the shortening of the final *e* and *o* had not yet taken effect. Worthy of special note are the forms *ahake* and *āma*, which not only are unknown to later Prakrit, but are not the regular *tadbhavas* of any Sanskrit words. It should also be remembered that *ahake* and *va(y)aṃ* (used in our plays practically to the exclusion of *hage* and *amhe* respectively) are noticed in Vararuci's *Prākṛta-prakāśa*, which is believed to be the oldest Prakrit grammar extant.

The affinities with Aśvaghōṣa's Prakrit pointed out above have a bearing on the age of our dramas which will receive our attention in due course. Meanwhile it will suffice to note that these affinities go far to prove that below the accretion of ignorant mistakes and unauthorised corrections, for which the successive generations of scribes and 'diaskeuasts' should be held responsible, there lies in the dramas before us a solid bedrock of archaic Prakrit, which is much older than any we know from the dramas of the so-called classical period of Sanskrit literature.

¹⁷ It should be remarked that *amh-* is the regular base of the oblique cases of this pronoun, and that *amhe*, accus., is regular in all dialects.